

will be standing with her as we try to make sure that the good work done in committee and on the floor of the Senate for fiscal responsibility, for fairness to farmers, for fairness to those who have suffered disasters, for fairness to those who are in the organic or the inorganic world or nonorganic world—that these mistakes, these three strikes-plus, do not carry forth through this Chamber.

I thank the Senator for her leadership.

Ms. STABENOW. Again, I thank the Senator from Oregon for his leadership on disaster assistance, on support for the organic agriculture community, and for others that benefit from his leadership, forestry and other areas. The Senator from Oregon has been a very, very strong leader, and I thank him for his words and for his actions in standing and fighting for the people we are supposed to be fighting for. I mean, the farmers and ranchers across the country, like every other American right now, are shaking their heads: What is going on?

I know there is a lot of work going on to come up with a larger agreement, but for those of us who care about many things but want to make sure agriculture is not lost in this, I am deeply concerned. This is the second largest industry in Michigan. It is the largest industry for many places in the country. Yet I don't see agriculture being the priority it needs to be either on disaster assistance or help for those who have been hit so hard by drought or by an early warmth and then a freeze in the orchards. Where is the willingness to stand and support farmers and ranchers across the country?

Well, I used to be able to say and I have said up to this point: Well, the support was in the Senate, where we passed a bipartisan farm bill and we worked together very closely to do that. But tonight I find that rather than proceeding in a bipartisan way, which has been what we have done, rather than consulting with myself as chair in the Senate and Chairman LUCAS in the House, we see that a proposal which neither one of us has put forward or supported and which is adamantly opposed by many people is now being offered as the approach to extend part of the farm bill, picking and choosing arbitrarily what should be extended and not, not doing disaster assistance, and not being willing to shave off even 2.5 percent of these government subsidies in order to be able to fully fund an extension for the next 9 months—2.5 percent. Mr. President, 2.5 percent is directing us, is what we are talking about in order to be able to extend critical, important priorities for people across the country. This is for consumers, for farmers, for ranchers, for people in this Chamber. I can only assume, based on what I see, that this is the effort of the group that has been trying very hard to make sure that their subsidies continue and that they continue unabated 100 percent, and this is their opportunity.

When we are trying to do deficit reduction, which I find amazing this is in the context of a deficit reduction package—and I am still going to be looking to see where the deficit reduction is. But the deficit reduction package—it will not accept \$24 billion in savings in agriculture. Now, instead, it puts in place policies that will take us in the exact opposite direction. It is very, very unfortunate.

I have been spending the day expressing grave concerns. I will continue to do that. There is absolutely no reason this can't be fixed before the proposal comes to this body. It absolutely can be fixed. People of good will in agriculture have worked together every step of the way, certainly in this Chamber. We can continue to do that if there is a desire to do it. I hope there is because there is a tremendous amount at stake.

Let me say again that 16 million people across our country pay their bills because of income they receive through agriculture or the food industry. Small farmers and large farmers want the certainty of a 5-year farm bill, and they also want to know we are working together with their interests in mind. I hope we can still see that happen.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MERKLEY). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 8:15 p.m., recessed subject to the call of the Chair and reassembled at 1:22 a.m. when called to order by the President pro tempore.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nevada.

#### EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. REID. I ask unanimous consent that the period of morning business for debate only be extended until 1:35 a.m. today, with Senator HARKIN being the person who will be speaking. When he finishes his speech, I ask that I then be recognized.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Iowa.

#### THE FISCAL CLIFF

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, over the last few decades, the real middle-class

families in America—and when I say “real middle class” I mean those who are making \$40,000, \$50,000, \$70,000, not \$400,000 a year—have seen their jobs become more insecure and their wages stagnate. In fact, their income adjusted for inflation is less now than it was in the late 1990s. Their savings and pensions have shrunk or disappeared.

The cost of education has soared at the same time as the wealthiest Americans and large corporations grow ever richer and pay less and less in taxes. For example, just take dividends. Prior to 2003, dividends were always taxed as ordinary income. Now they are taxed at a less rate than the capital gains rate. Income of hedge fund managers is taxed at a lower rate than middle-class families—the so-called carried interest rule.

The share of our Nation's wealth going to corporate profits has been rising as the share going to wages and salaries is declining. This has led bit by bit, Tax Code change by Tax Code change, pension cuts by pension cuts, job outsourcing by job outsourcing to an economy that is out of balance, that threatens the very fabric of our society. That is because the gap between the rich and the real middle class grows ever wider. That is because our economy is driven from the middle out and not from the top down.

Our economy is driven by middle-class families with good jobs and money in their pockets to spend. So our first goal must be to put Americans back to work and to get our economy moving, to rebuild the real middle class now.

The average American across our land tonight—today—probably thinks what we are about here is just that, to solve our country's most pressing problem—creating new jobs, laying the foundation for future economic growth and, thus, reducing our deficits in the long term. But instead we are here tied in knots to avert a manufactured fiscal cliff which could have been avoided 6 months ago by the House passing S. 3412 to avert the tax hikes on 98 percent of Americans.

As I have said repeatedly, I will evaluate any such fiscal cliff legislation on how these proposed policies affect working families and the real middle class—again, the real middle class being those making \$30,000, \$50,000, \$60,000, \$70,000 a year. So I am disappointed to say, in my opinion, this legislation we are about to vote on falls short.

First, it does not address the No. 1 priority: creating good middle-class jobs now. Unemployment remains way too high. This bill should include direct assistance on job creation makers; for example, our infrastructure, education, and job retraining. How many jobs we see out there going wanting because people aren't trained for those jobs; yet we don't have enough money to put into job retraining. The legislation before us neglects our most pressing concern at the present time, and that is